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SUBJECT: WHITE PAPER ON LIBYA'S CHEMICAL WARFARE PROGRAM

REF: BANGKOK 42119

1. (S) PRESENTED BELOW IN PARA 2 IS AN INTERAGENCY COORDINATED "WHITE PAPER" ON LIBYA'S CHEMICAL WARFARE (CW) PROGRAM. THIS PAPER IS UNCLASSIFIED AND IS TO BE PROVIDED TO THE ROYAL THAI GOVERNMENT FOR ITS USE. THE PAPER CAN BE USED BY THE THAIS IN HELPING TO PREPARE THE CASES AGAINST THE THREE THAI FIRMS FOR ASSISTING THE LIBYAN CW PROGRAM. NO OTHER PAPERS ARE PLANNED TO BE GIVEN TO THE RTG. ALTHOUGH, IF A SPECIFIC LEGAL QUESTION ARISES AFTER THE THAIS DETERMINE WHICH LAWS OR REGULATIONS THEY PLAN TO CHARGE THE FIRMS UNDER, IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE TO PROVIDE ADDITIONAL INFORMATION.

2. (U) BEGIN TEXT OF WHITE PAPER ON LIBYA'S CW PROGRAM
RELEASABLE TO RTG:

- LIBYA IS EXPANDING ITS CHEMICAL WARFARE PROGRAM

THERE IS OVERWHELMING EVIDENCE THAT LIBYA IS ENGAGED IN CONSTRUCTION OF CHEMICAL WEAPONS PRODUCTION FACILITIES AT THE TARHUNAH SITE. MOREOVER, THIS EVIDENCE IS IN THE PUBLIC DOMAIN, HAS BEEN CONFIRMED BY ACTION OF THE UN SANCTIONS COMMITTEE, AND HAS BEEN RECOGNIZED BY OTHER COMPANIES THAT FORMERLY HAD SUPPLIED THE PROJECT. IT IS NOT CREDIBLE THAT THAI FIRMS PARTICIPATING IN THIS CONSTRUCTION ARE UNAWARE OF THE TRUE NATURE OF THIS FACILITY UNLESS THEY HAVE IMPERMISSIBLY "BURIED THEIR HEADS IN THE SAND."

LIBYA SHOWS TREMENDOUS RESOLVE IN MOVING ITS OVERALL CHEMICAL WARFARE (CW) PROGRAM FORWARD. DESPITE INTERNATIONAL CONDEMNATION AND POLITICAL PRESSURE TRIPOLI'S PURSUIT OF CHEMICAL WEAPONS IS BARELY DISGUISED. TRIPOLI'S ONGOING CW ACTIVITIES AND ITS REFUSAL IN JANUARY 1993 TO JOIN A GLOBAL CHEMICAL WEAPONS CONVENTION (CWC) SIGNED BY MORE THAN 150 OTHER NATIONS UNDERLINE THE JUDGMENT OF MANY GOVERNMENTS THAT LIBYA HAS NO INTENTION OF GIVING UP ITS CHEMICAL WARFARE PROGRAM.

LIBYA HAS CHEMICAL FACILITIES AT RABTA AND TARHUNAH

LIBYA HAS PRODUCED AT LEAST 100 TONS OF CW AGENTS MOSTLY THE BLISTER AGENT MUSTARD AND SMALLER AMOUNTS OF THE NERVE AGENT SARIN.

- LIBYA HAS A CW AGENT PRODUCTION FACILITY AT RABTA ALTHOUGH THAT FACILITY CURRENTLY IS INACTIVE. THE MAXIMUM PRODUCTION CAPACITY FOR RABTA IS 40 TONS OF CW AGENT DAILY, AND THE PLANT WAS DESIGNED TO MAKE THE BLISTER AGENT MUSTARD AND HIGHLY LETHAL NERVE AGENTS. FACILITIES AT THE RABTA COMPLEX INCLUDE A METAL FABRICATION AREA FOR MAKING MISSILE WARHEADS, BOMBS, AND ARTILLERY SHELLS FOR CHEMICAL WARFARE PURPOSES. THE RABTA COMPLEX WAS BUILT WITH ASSISTANCE FROM TECHNICIANS, ENGINEERS. AND LABORERS FROM SEVERAL COUNTRIES. INCLUDING WEST GERMANY. JAPAN AND THAILAND.

- SINCE 1990, TRIPOLI HAS TURNED ITS ATTENTION TO A NEW PROJECT--CONSTRUCTION OF THE WORLD'S LARGEST KNOWN UNDERGROUND CW PLANT, DEEP IN AN INTERIOR MOUNTAIN NEAR TARHUNAH ABOUT 60 KM SOUTHEAST OF TRIPOLI. EXCAVATION AT TARHUNAH, WHICH BEGAN IN 1992 IS GOING FORWARD AND ASSEMBLY OF THE PLANT WILL BE COMPLETE WITHIN THE DECADE. THE INTERIOR PLANS AND EQUIPMENT FOR THE UNDERGROUND PLANT. PUBLISHED IN THE MAGAZINE "THE ECONOMIST"'S "FOREIGN REPORT'" INDICATE THAT THE TARHUNAH PLANT IS A

RECONFIGURED VERSION OF THE RABTA FACILITY. THE SAME LIBYAN PURCHASING OFFICERS INVOLVED WITH THE RABTA PLANT ARE NOW WORKING ON DUPLICATING EQUIPMENT ORDERS FROM THOSE DESIGNS FOR USE AT TARHUNAH.

UNITED NATIONS SANCTIONS COMMITTEE ACKNOWLEDGE TARHUNAH'S

CW LINK

THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. THROUGH UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 748. PASSED ON MARCH 31, 1992, HAS SOUGHT TO ISOLATE LIBYA AND CEASE ITS TERRORIST ACTIVITIES--IN PART THROUGH A BAN ON MILITARY SALES AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE TO LIBYA. INCLUDED IN THIS BAN IS THE TRANSFER OF CHEMICAL WEAPONS-RELATED MATERIAL AND ACTIVITIES.

- THE UN IN RESOLUTION 748 ALSO MADE CLEAR THAT LIBYA IS CONSIDERED AN OUTLAW STATE THROUGH VARIOUS OTHER DEMANDS. UN MEMBER STATES ARE REQUIRED TO REDUCE LIBYAN DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS AND TO DRAW DOWN THEIR OWN REPRESENTATION TO LIBYA. THE RESOLUTION ALSO TERMINATED INTERNATIONAL AIR SERVICE TO AND FROM LIBYA.

BARRING SHIPMENT TO LIBYA: IN MARCH 1993 THE UN. INVOKING THESE SANCTIONS, BARRED A SHIPMENT OF CHEMICAL PRODUCTION EQUIPMENT--REACTOR VESSELS--DESTINED FOR LIBYA'S CW PROGRAM. LIBYA HAD CLAIMED IT WAS PURCHASING THE EQUIPMENT FOR STRICTLY COMMERCIAL USE--TO MAKE DRILLING MUD ADDITIVES FOR OIL EXPLORATION. THE EQUIPMENT WAS PRODUCED BY THE MALAYSIAN SUBSIDIARY OF A BRITISH FIRM. SINGAPORE HALTED TRANSSHIPMENT OF THE REACTOR VESSELS TO A LIBYAN FACTORY IN BENGHAZI PENDING A UN SANCTIONS COMMITTEE DETERMINATION. AFTER THE SANCTIONS COMMITTEE FOUND THAT THE SHIPMENT WAS IN VIOLATION OF RESOLUTION 748, SINGAPORE REFUSED TO ALLOW THEM TO BE SHIPPED AND SUBSEQUENTLY RETURNED THEM TO THE MALAYSIAN SHIPPER WHERE THEY REMAIN UNDER MALAYSIAN CUSTOMS CONTROL PENDING SALE TO A LEGITIMATE BUYER.

GERMAN COMPANIES CEASED SUPPLYING TARHUNAH

THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT IS CURRENTLY INVESTIGATING GERMAN FIRMS FOR DELIVERING EQUIPMENT AND CHEMICALS FOR THE TARHUNAH PLAN VIA THIRD COUNTRIES TO AVOID SUSPICION. CHANCELLOR HELMUT KOHL'S OFFICE CONFIRMED TO THE PRESS IN MID-FEBRUARY 1993 THAT HIS GOVERNMENT HAD RECEIVED INFORMATION THAT GERMAN FIRMS WERE INVOLVED IN PROVIDING MATERIAL FOR LIBYA'S CLANDESTINE CW PROJECT. AT LEAST TWO IMPLICATED FIRMS IMMEDIATELY AGREED TO BONN'S DEMANDS TO STOP ANY FURTHER DELIVERIES, THE SPOKESMAN SAID.

GERMAN PROSECUTION OF CASES AGAINST FIRMS DEALING WITH LIBYAN CW PROGRAMS DATES BACK TO 1990. INITIALLY, THE WEST GERMAN FINANCE MINISTER SAID THAT INFORMATION ABOUT THE RABTA PLANT WAS TOO VAGUE FOR BONN TO PURSUE COMPANIES INVOLVED. ALTHOUGH THE BONN GOVERNMENT AT FIRST STRONGLY DENIED ALLEGATIONS THAT GERMAN FIRMS HAD SUPPLIED AND BUILT A CW FACTORY IN LIBYA, AFTER EXTENSIVE INVESTIGATIONS IT FOUND THE CHARGES WERE TRUE. THE GERMAN FIRM IMHAUSEN-CHEMIE STATED IN COURT THAT RABTA IS A POISON GAS PLANT, AND THE FIRM'S OWNER WAS SUBSEQUENTLY SENTENCED TO FIVE YEARS IN PRISON FOR VIOLATION OF EXPORT CONTROL LAWS.

THAI NATIONALS ARE INVOLVED

THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT CONCLUDED THAT A THAI BUSINESSMAN WITH AN ENGINEERING DEGREE WHO WAS INVOLVED IN BUILDING THE RABTA PLANT PROVIDED CRITICAL ASSISTANCE TO THE TARHUNAH PLANT, AS INDICATED IN A GERMAN NEWSPAPER. THE THAI EXPERT COPIED THE PLANS FOR THE RABTA FACILITY, ALTERED THEM, AND THEN CONTACTED GERMAN COMPANIES FOR ASSISTANCE IN BUILDING AND EQUIPPING THE FACILITIES. THAI COMPANIES HAD TAKEN OVER CW PROJECTS IN LIBYA AFTER GERMAN AND JAPANESE CONTRACTORS WERE FORCED TO WITHDRAW IN THE

1980S UNDER PRESSURE FROM THEIR GOVERNMENTS, ACCORDING TO
A PRESS REPORT IN "THE NEW TIMES."

THE THAI FIRM W AND M LIMITED PARTNERSHIP HAS ACKNOWLEDGED
THAT IT IS THE SOLE SOURCE FOR TUNNELING DESIGN AND
EXCAVATION WORK AT THE TARHUNAH SITE. WIROTE
SUKUNMUTHITA, OF W AND M, TOLD THE PRESS THAT HIS COMPANY
WAS HIRED THREE YEARS AGO TO DESIGN THE TUNNELS. HE ALSO
SAID THAT ABOUT 60 THAI WORKERS, INCLUDING A NUMBER OF
ENGINEERS, WERE ASSIGNED TO THE TARHUNAH PROJECT.

LIBYA'S DENIALS ARE NOT CREDIBLE

COL. MU'AMMAR QADHAFI CONTINUES TO DENY THAT LIBYA
POSSESSES A CW PROGRAM AND THAT HE IS BUILDING AN
UNDERGROUND CW PLANT AT TARHUNAH. LIBYA STILL INSISTS
THAT THE CW PLANT AT RABTA WAS DESIGNED TO PRODUCE ONLY
PHARMACEUTICALS AND THAT TARHUNAH IS A CIVILIAN PROJECT.
WHILE CONTINUING EXCAVATION, LIBYA HAS STRIVED TO PROVIDE
A SEEMINGLY PLAUSIBLE ALTERNATIVE EXPLANATION FOR THE
INTENSIVE TUNNELING ACTIVITY THAT BEGAN IN 1992.

THE LIBYAN DENIALS ABOUT TARHUNAH, HOWEVER, ARE
REMINISCENT OF TRIPOLI'S PAST ATTEMPTS TO CONCEAL THE TRUE
CW NATURE OF THE "RABIA PHARMACEUTICAL FACTORY. TRIPOLI
CLAIMS TARHUNAH IS A TUNNEL EXCAVATION TRAINING SITE FOR
LIBYAN WORKERS ON THE MUCH PUBLICIZED CIVILIAN "GREAT
MANMADE RIVER PROJECT," WHICH IS NOT IN THE IMMEDIATE
VICINITY. IN FEBRUARY 1993, LIBYAN TELEVISION AIRED A
STAGED VISIT BY QADHAFI TO THE TUNNELS, AND THE LIBYAN
GOVERNMENT HAS INVITED THE UNITED STATES AND INTERNATIONAL
MEDIA TO TOUR THE EXCAVATION. THE LIBYANS PROBABLY
ANTICIPATED THAT INSPECTORS WOULD BE UNABLE TO IDENTIFY
THE FACILITY AS CW-RELATED BECAUSE IT WAS IN THE EARLY
STAGES OF CONSTRUCTION AND NO PRODUCTION EQUIPMENT IS YET
PRESENT.

TRIPOLI HAS EXTENSIVE EXPERIENCE IN MANIPULATING
INTERNATIONAL OPINION, WHILE CONSTRUCTING AND RUNNING A CW
FACILITY. DURING THE 1980S, LIBYA CLANDESTINELY
ESTABLISHED A GLOBAL PROCUREMENT NETWORK TO OBTAIN
MATERIALS TO BUILD THE RABTA CW PLANT. THERE WAS A
CONNECTION BETWEEN A BELGIAN SHIPPING FIRM AND WEST GERMAN
CHEMICAL MANUFACTURES.

END TEXT OF WHITE PAPER.

CHRISTOPHER